

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-08

INFO OCT-01 INR-07 ISO-00 SS-15 IO-13 EB-07 L-03 CCO-00

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 108764 TOSEC 110718

FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EGEN, NI

SUBJECT:DEPUTY SECRETARY'S BILATERAL TALKS WITH NIGERIA

REF: SECTO 11293

FOLLOWING IS BRIEFING PAPER FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S
MEETING WITH MAJOR GENERAL MOHAMMED SHUWA, NIGERIAN
COMMISSIONER FOR TRADE, AT 4:00 P.M. THURSDAY, MAY 6:

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PARTICIPANTS:

-- US NIGERIA

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY MAJ.GEN. MOHAMMED SHUWA

-- (PRONOUNCED SHOO-WAH')

-- (ADDRESSED MR. COMMISSIONER OR

-- GENERAL)

-- AMBASSADOR TO SWITZERLAND

-- B.A. CLARK

-- MIC DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR

--

CHECKLIST:

-- TELL SHUWA THAT YOU AND THE SECRETARY REGRET HAVING TO
POSTPONE YOUR VISITS TO NIGERIA. YOU HAD HOPED THE VISIT
WOULD PERMIT A USEFUL EXCHANGE ON AFRICAN AND OTHER
MATTERS OF INTEREST TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

-- EXPRESS REGRET THAT THE NIGERIAN PRESS CONTINUES TO
ACCUSE U.S. OF COMPLICITY IN THE ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL
MUHAMMED. THERE IS NOT A SHRED OF EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT
THIS CANARD.

-- EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT U.S. FIRMS WILL BE ABLE TO
CONTINUE TO WORK IN NIGERIA IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, DESPITE
PROBLEMS IN THE OIL SECTOR AND WITH OPIC INSURANCE.

-- ASK FOR COMMENTS ON THE SECRETARY'S UNCTAD SPEECH,
ESPECIALLY THE PROPOSED RESOURCES BANK.

-- REFER TO THE SECRETARY'S LUSAKA SPEECH AND REMIND
SHUWA THAT WE OPPOSE SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA
BUT WILL NOT ASSIST MINORITY REGIMES TO MAINTAIN THEM-
SELVES IN POWER.

-- MENTION KOREA, PUERTO RICO, AND THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE
ONE-SIDED UN RESOLUTIONS WOULD DAMAGE SUPPORT IN THE U.S.
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FOR OUR ECONOMIC PROPOSALS.

SETTING

YOU ARE MEETING WITH MAJOR GENERAL SHUWA FOR TWO REASONS:

-- HE COULD NOT ARRANGE HIS SCHEDULE TO MEET SECRETARY
KISSINGER PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S DEPARTURE FROM NAIROBI.

-- WE PLACE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE ON THE MEETING BECAUSE
OUR RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA, OUR MAJOR FOREIGN SOURCE
OF CRUDE OIL IN 1975, ARE STRAINED AT PRESENT. BOTH
YOU AND THE SECRETARY RECENTLY WERE ASKED BY THE NIGERIANS

TO POSTPONE VISITS YOU WERE PLANNING TO MAKE TO THEIR COUNTRY. THERE IS ALSO EVIDENCE THAT THE NIGERIANS HAVE BEEN UNDERCUTTING THE SECRETARY'S OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA WITH OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS.

SHUWA'S PRINCIPAL INTEREST WILL BE TO LISTEN, PASSIVELY FOR THE MOST PART, TO YOUR COMMENTS ON UNCTAD-IV AND ON THE STATE OF U.S.-NIGERIAN RELATIONS.

OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO DEMONSTRATE OUR INTEREST IN A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP WITH NIGERIA AND TO UNDERLINE THE DEGREE OF MUTUAL INTERESTS WE SHARE IN THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL AREAS AND WITH RESPECT TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES.

MAJOR GENERAL MOHAMMED SHUWA, AGE 36, COMMANDED A DIVISION IN 1967-69 DURING THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AND HAS SINCE BEEN A STAFF OFFICER. HE WAS ATTENDING THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF DEFENSE STUDIES IN LONDON WHEN THE LEADERS OF THE COUP OF JULY 1965 ELEVATED HIM TO HIS PRESENT POSITION. HE HAS NO

KNOWN RELEVANT PRIOR EXPERIENCE IN ECONOMIC MATTERS AND IS DESCRIBED AS DEVIOUS, IMPATIENT, AND DIFFICULT TO ENGAGE IN CONVERSATION.

US-NIGERIAN RELATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN CLOSE IN RECENT YEARS. THE SECRETARY APPROVED A MEMORANDUM IN MARCH 1975 OUT-CONFIDENTIAL

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LINING A NUMBER OF US INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO HELP IMPROVE RELATIONS, INCLUDING FREQUENT HIGH-LEVEL VISITS AND SOUNDINGS ON THE ACCEPTABILITY OF A JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION. YOU WERE PREPARED TO VISIT LAGOS IN 1975 AND FEBRUARY 1976 WHILE YOU WERE UNDER SECRETARY, BUT EACH TIME THE VISIT HAD TO BE POSTPONED. IN FEBRUARY, THE NIGERIANS ASKED THAT YOU NOT COME BECAUSE THE COUNTRY WAS STILL IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE FEBRUARY 13 COUP ATTEMPT. IN PREPARATION FOR THE VISIT, YOU MET FEBRUARY 6 WITH NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR SANU WHO HAS SAID ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT HE ADMIRE YOUR PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF LNG AND DIRECT-REDUCTION STEEL-MAKING.

THE NIGERIANS ASKED THAT THE SECRETARY NOT VISIT NIGERIA DURING HIS CURRENT TRIP BECAUSE OF THEIR PREOCCUPATIONS WITH OTHER MATTERS AND A POSSIBLE SECURITY RISK. IN CONVEYING THIS MESSAGE, AMBASSADOR SANU EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD VISIT NIGERIA AT SOME OTHER TIME IN THE FUTURE AND ASKED FOR YOU TO VISIT AS SOON AS ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE REMADE. WE ACCEPTED THEIR EXPLANATION AT THE TIME BUT HAVE SINCE LEARNED THAT THE NIGERIANS HAD BEEN LOBBYING AGAINST THE SECRETARY'S TRIP IN OTHER

AFRICAN CAPITALS AND THAT HE PROBABLY WILL NOT RESCHEDULE HIS VISIT AT ANY TIME IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THE NIGERIANS HAVE REBUFFED OUR SUGGESTIONS THAT THE SECRETARY VISIT LAGOS IN JUNE.

ISSUES/TALKING POINTS

1. US-NIGERIAN RELATIONS

-- BACKGROUND: RECENTLY, OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS HAVE BEEN STRAINED BY DISAGREEMENT ON ANGOLA, BY THE XENOPHOBIC RESPONSE IN NIGERIA TO THE FEBRUARY 13 COUP ATTEMPT, AND BY CLANDESTINE DIPLOMATIC OPPOSITION TO THE SECRETARY'S AFRICAN TRIP. ANTI-AMERICAN STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS TOOK PLACE IN JANUARY FOLLOWING THE GOVERNMENT'S UNDIPLOMATIC RELEASE AND CRITICISM OF A LETTER ON ANGOLA FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO GENERAL MUHAMMED. WHEN MUHAMMED WAS MURDERED ON FEBRUARY 13, STUDENTS AND SOME NEWSPAPERS ACCUSED THE CIA (AND THE BRITISH) OF BEING SOMEHOW RESPONSIBLE, AND MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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DEMONSTRATIONS TOOK PLACE. EXCEPT FOR ONE CONFUSED SPEECH BY THE NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UN, THE NIGERIAN

GOVERNMENT AVOIDED LINKING THE U.S. TO THE COUP, BUT NEITHER HAS IT SOUGHT TO QUELL THE XENOPHOBIA WHICH DIVERTS ATTENTION FROM DOMESTIC CLEAVAGES. NIGERIAN MOTIVES FOR SECRETLY OPPOSING THE SECRETARY'S TRIP PROBABLY INCLUDE (1) A CONSCIOUS DECISION TO CONTINUE TO USE THE SECRETARY AS A SCAPEGOAT AT HOME; (2) A SINCERE CONVICTION THAT OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE TOO CLOSELY ALLIED WITH THOSE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT IN ANY EVENT IT IS TOO LATE TO ACHIEVE A NON-VIOLENT SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS; AND (3) A PASSIONATE DESIRE TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS A PROGRESSIVE LEADER IN BLACK AFRICA BY BEING SEEN TO BE OUT IN FRONT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- I HAD LOOKED FORWARD TO VISITING NIGERIA FEBRUARY 23-25, BUT I WELL UNDERSTAND WHY THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAD TO POSTPONE THE VISIT FOLLOWING THE COUP ATTEMPT. I (OR MY SUCCESSOR AS UNDER SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS) WOULD STILL LIKE TO VISIT NIGERIA AT SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE.

-- SECRETARY KISSINGER ALSO REGRETS NOT BEING ABLE TO VISIT NIGERIA DURING HIS CURRENT TRIP. HE BELIEVES THERE IS MUCH THE TWO SIDES COULD HAVE TALKED ABOUT TO THE ADVANTAGE OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

-- WE HAVE BEEN DISTURBED BY THE INTEMPERATE AND UNVERIFIED ALLEGATIONS OF U.S. COMPLICITY IN THE ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL MUHAMMED WHICH WERE PUBLISHED IN NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS AND LED TO STUDENT ATTACKS ON U.S. INSTALLATIONS.

THERE WAS NO INVOLVEMENT WHATSOEVER BY THE U.S. IN THAT TRAGIC AFFAIR. I HOPE YOUR OWN INVESTIGATIONS HAVE NOW CONFIRMED THAT TO YOU AND THAT THE NIGERIAN PRESS WILL SOON REFLECT THIS.

-- WE VALUE THE VIEWS OF NIGERIA ON IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND HOPE, THROUGH HIGH-LEVEL VISITS AND OTHER MEANS, TO BROADEN EXCHANGES BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

2. ECONOMIC COOPERATION

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-- BACKGROUND: THE QUADRUPLING OF OIL REVENUES AT THE END OF 1973 (TO \$8 BILLION PER YEAR) HAS BROUGHT NIGERIA UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY AND A SERIES OF VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS. IMPORTS HAVE DOUBLED AND REDOUBLED, AND THE HEAD OF STATE, LT. GENERAL OBASANJO, WAS FORCED TO ANNOUNCE MARCH 31 THAT THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN THE PREVIOUS TWELVE MONTHS WAS ACTUALLY IN DEFICIT BY MORE THAN \$1 BILLION. THE NIGERIAN BUDGET FOR THE CURRENT YEAR WAS SCALED BACK FROM ITS ORIGINAL SIZE, AND A NUMBER OF MEASURES WERE TAKEN TO CONSERVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, TO SLOW

DOWN THE RATE OF INFLATION, AND TO ACHIEVE OTHER ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES.

THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IS, NEVERTHELESS, STILL LIMITING OIL PRODUCTION TO 2 MILLION B/D (VS. 2.3 IN 1974) AND CONTINUES TO PRESS THE PRODUCING COMPANIES SO HARD (DESPITE A 5CENTS PER BARREL SPREAD DURING THE SECOND QUARTER BETWEEN BUY-BACK OIL AND GOVERNMENT OIL SOLD TO NON-PRODUCING COMPNIES) THAT THE COMPANIES' NEW INVESTMENT IN EXPLORATION AND PRODUCTION HAS BEEN SEVERELY CUT BACK. THERE CONTINUES TO BE NO DISCERNIBLE PROGRESS IN THE LNG, PETRO-CHEMICAL, AND DIRECT-REDUCTION PLANTS, WHICH US AND OTHER WESTERN FIRMS WILL BUILD, OR IN THE BLAST FURNACE COMPLEX, WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN STUDYING FOR FIVE YEARS.

YOU SHOULD ALSO BE AWARE THAT SHUWA WAS PERSONALLY INVOLVED A MONTH AGO WHEN HIS MINISTRY QUOTE COMPULSORILY ACQUIRED UNQUOTE (THEIR WORDS) A 49 PERCENT INTEREST IN THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL INSURANCE COMPANY OF NIGERIA UNDER THREAT OF A COMPLETE SHUT-DOWN. COMPENSATION WAS PAID, AS IT WAS IN THE CASE OF OTHER FOREIGN-OWNED INSURANCE COMPANIES, ON THE BASIS OF PAR VALUE, BUT THE PARENT AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP FEELS THAT THE REAL VALUE OF THE COMPANY AND ITS PORTFOLIO OF LIFE INSURANCE POLICIES IS MANY TIMES HIGHER.

IN CONTRAST TO OUR TOUCHY POLITICAL RELATIONS AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF SOME US COMPANIES IN NIGERIA, THE NIGERIAN ARMY HAS RECENTLY GIVEN SIZABLE CONTRACTS TO THREE US

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VEHICLE MANUFACTURERS AND TO ONE DESIGN FIRM (CE-TEC) FOR MILITARY CONSTRUCTION. THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS HAS PURCHASED A NATIONWIDE MULTIMEDIA COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM FROM WESTINGHOUSE-TCOM, AND NIGERIA AIRWAYS IS DISCUSSING A MAJOR PURCHASE OF US AIRCRAFT.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- I AM PLEASED THAT US TECHNOLOGY AND INVESTMENT ARE ALREADY AT WORK IN NIGERIA (E.G. IN TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND THE OIL INDUSTRY) AND AM HOPEFUL THAT PETROCHEMICALS, FERTILIZER, DIRECT-REDUCTION STEEL-MAKING, AGRICULTURAL PROCESSING, AND OTHER PROJECTS WILL SOON OPEN UP MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR US FIRMS.

-- I AM CONCERNED HOWEVER ABOUT THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF YOUR OIL INDUSTRY. ACCORDING TO THE PRODUCING COMPANIES, THE MARGIN ON THEIR 45 PERCENT EQUITY AND ON BUY-BACK OIL IS TOO LOW TO JUSTIFY MUCH NEW INVESTMENT IN EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

-- ANOTHER CONCERN IS OUR PROGRAM OF POLITICAL-RISK INSURANCE ADMINISTERED BY OPIC. SINCE EARLY 1975 WHEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO REINSTATE THIS PROGRAM, THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIES HAS APPROVED ONLY ONE APPLICATION FOR NEW INVESTMENT. PROMPT ACTION ON THE BACKLOG OF OTHER APPLICATIONS WOULD ENCOURAGE MORE US INVESTMENT IN NIGERIA.

-- SOME OF THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AT THE END OF MARCH TO CONSERVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, RELIEVE PORT CONGESTION, AND STIMULATE THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY ARE OF INTEREST TO THE USG. WE ARE STILL WAITING TO SEE HOW THE NEW BANKING REGULATIONS AFFECT US MERCHANT BANKS IN NIGERIA (CITIBANK, FIRST CHICAGO, CHASE, MORGAN). WILL YOUR MINISTRY BE NOTIFYING THE GATT ABOUT THE LIST OF FOOD PRODUCTS, TEXTILES, AND OTHER GOODS WHICH CANNOT BE IMPORTED FOR SIX MONTHS?

-- (ONLY IF ASKED.) I AM AWARE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT REQUESTED DOCUMENTS OBTAINED BY THE USG ABOUT PAYMENTS BY
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LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT CORPORATION TO NIGERIANS. AN EXCHANGE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED LAST MONTH BETWEEN OUR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND YOUR MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. WE ARE TRANSMITTING YOUR REQUESTS TO THE SEC AND THE CHURCH SUBCOMMITTEE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES.

3. MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS:

-- BACKGROUND: NIGERIA HAS NOT CONSIDERED ITS INTERESTS IDENTICAL WITH OURS ON UN ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US. OUR COMPUTER ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT NIGERIA GAVE US 16.7 SUPPORT IN 1974 AND 13.6 SUPPORT IN 1975 ON CRITICAL VOTES. NIGERIA OPPOSED US ON THE ZIONISM/RACISM ISSUE AND ON THE KOREAN RESOLUTION. IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS, NIGERIA'S ROLE HAS BECOME SIGNIFICANTLY MORE POWERFUL AND ASSERTIVE. NIGERIA IS A MEMBER OF TWO CIEC SUBCOMMISSIONS: DEVELOPMENT AND RAW MATERIALS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US WHICH MAY COME TO THE UNGA THIS YEAR INCLUDE KOREA (WHERE WE HAVE IMPORTANT SECURITY INTERESTS), PUERTO RICO (WHICH IS A MATTER OF US INTERNAL AFFAIRS), AND THE MIDDLE EAST (WHERE WE ARE CONCERNED THAT EFFORTS MAY AGAIN BE MADE TO EXCLUDE ISRAEL FROM THE UN).

-- I HOPE THAT YOU FOUND THE SECRETARY'S UNCTAD SPEECH TO BE FORTHCOMING. WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR VIEWS AND COMMENTS. AS AN OIL PRODUCER AND A MEMBER OF THE CIEC RAW MATERIALS SUBCOMMISSION, NIGERIA MAY BE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSED RESOURCES BANK FOR RAW MATERIALS PROJECTS.

-- WE BELIEVE THE CIEC IS GETTING OFF TO A GOOD START WITH THE COMMISSION MEETINGS NOW UNDERWAY. HOWEVER, CIEC SHOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH THE CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS OF OTHER FORUMS SUCH AS THE MTN'S AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT.

-- WE WELCOME NIGERIA'S INCREASING PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS AND ARE HAPPY TO SEE
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NIGERIA USE A PORTION OF ITS FOREIGN RESERVES TO SUPPORT SUCH VITAL INSTITUTIONS AS THE IBRD AND THE AFDB.

4. SOUTHERN AFRICA:

-- BACKGROUND: U.S.-NIGERIAN DIFFERENCES OVER THE ANGOLA ISSUE WERE A MAJOR SOURCE OF IRRITATION EARLY THIS YEAR. NIGERIANS SUSPECT THAT OUR SUPPORT OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, INCLUDING THE SECRETARY'S LUSAKA SPEECH, IS MORE RHETORICAL THAN REAL. MEANWHILE, THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS PLAYED A DIRECT, CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN REESTABLISHING CONTACT BETWEEN THE GULF OIL CORPORATION AND THE MPLA.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- WE HOPE THE SECRETARY'S LUSAKA SPEECH RECEIVES CAREFUL STUDY BY THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT.

-- WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF ASSISTING THE MINORITY REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO MAINTAIN THEMSELVES IN POWER.

-- WE BELIEVE AFRICA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY AFRICANS WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM OUTSIDERS. WE SEEK NO SPECIAL POSITION FOR OURSELVES.

-- THE USG IS NOT OPPOSED TO THE MPLA PER SE AND IS PLACING NO OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF U.S. TRADE WITH ANGOLA. WE ARE CLOSELY WATCHING THE BEHAVIOR OF MPLA TOWARD ITS

INDEPENDENT NEIGHBORS AND FOR INDICATIONS THAT IT IS LESSENING ITS DEPENDENCE ON A FOREIGN ARMY FOR SUPPORT.

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